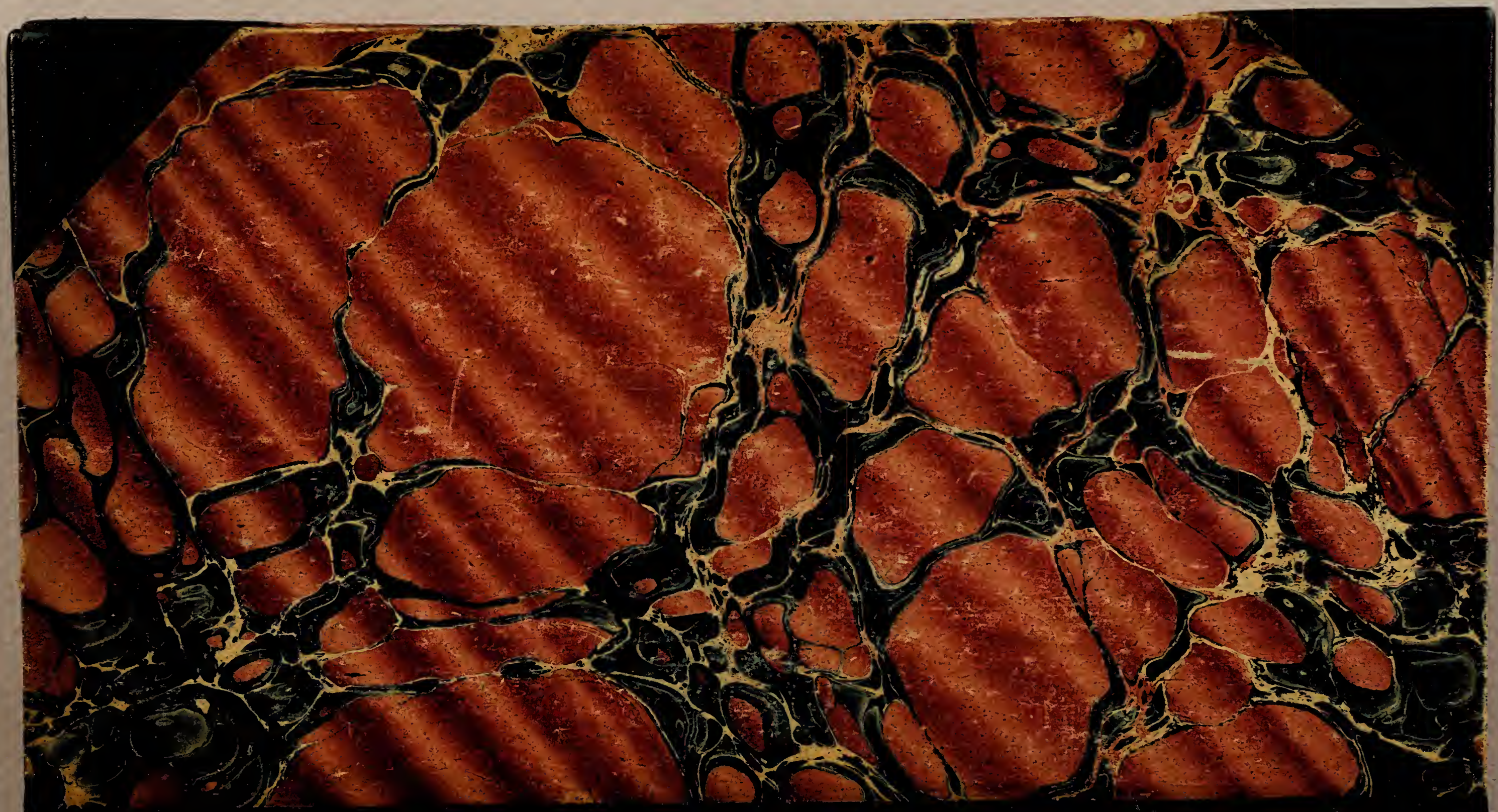

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A MODEST

ADDRESS

TO THE

COMMONS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

And in particular to the

FREE CITIZENS

OF

LONDON;

OCCASIONED

By the ill Succeſs of our preſent NAVAL WAR with *France*, and the Want of a MILITIA BILL.

Gentle Ways are firſt to be uſed, and it is beſt, if the Work can be done by them: it is good to uſe Supplications, Advices, and Remonſtrances; but it muſt not be leſt undone if they fail.

SYDNEY's Diſ. on Gov. Ch. III. § 40.

LONDON:

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[Price Sixpence.]

DEPOS

A MODEST

ADDRESS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

THE proſperous adminiſtration of public affairs in popular governments has often given occaſion to ambitious ſtateſmen to gloſs over the moſt dangerous attempts, which they take hold of, and opportunity from, the peoples inattention, to contrive againſt the Soul of the Conſtitution, which is Public Liberty, whilſt the honor of a nation may be the theme of every tongue, and ſounded in all mens ears to the uttermoſt parts of the earth.

This neglect of meaſures is not always to be attributed to univerſal approbation from the majority of mankind, nor to a want of diſcernment in the honeſter part at the very time, of the true ſtate of matters; but it is to be aſcribed to the temper, and high-ſpirited ferment into which mens minds are caſt by proſperity; by which they are ſo far deluded from the immediate purſuit of their real good, that when they are diſpoſed to follow it, the opportunity is paſt, and nothing more is left but fruitleſs lamentation of their former ſupineneſs, and forgetfulneſs of the public concerns.

It is true indeed, every nation that is well governed, ought to preſerve, and maintain at all times, the higheſt veneration for good governors, who in the

exerciſe of all power, ſtudy only to perform the juſt ends of their inſtitution. Nay, it is but candid to incline, as far as ever appearances will admit, to forbearance in our cenſures of the conduct of men in high ſtations; and farther, it is decent to think, ſpeak, and act towards them on all common occaſions, with ſuperior deference and more than ordinary reſpect.

But this caſe is totally different when the rulers of a people are filled with follies and vices of every kind; when from their corruption of manners, and the inſenſible encroachments of M——s, moſt dangerous miſchiefs, and almoſt incurable uſurpations of ill acquired power, threaten deſtruction to a free-born people.

Whenever this proves to be the caſe, from the changes of times, the A————n ſtrengthens itſelf by colluſive practices with the worſt and weakeſt of men, and ſets up for ſome a real, for others an imaginary intereſt, which is diſtinct from, or contrary to the public good: every attempt at ſuch a time to give people a right way of thinking in theſe matters, is laughed to ſcorn by paraſites and traitors to their country; and the honeſt authors of any counſel to the people, ſetting forth, or barely hinting at what is neceſſary to be done for redreſs of grievances, are expoſed to calumny and danger of proſecution from the M——r, who artfully gives the hard names of Sedition and Faction to whatſoever is firſt moved for the preſervation of the people, and the recovery of their rights.

But though the riſk is great in ſuch times as I have been deſcribing, to excite a people to make minute inquiries into the mal-adminiſtration of public truſts, yet when a nation is abandoned by men of the greateſt integrity, fortitude, forecaſt and prudence, to a junto of ſuch as are deſtitute of all manly virtues, and when the leaders are found to invert

Themiſtocles's

Themiſtocles's art, by which a little city might become great, and in its ſtead to reduce a great and mighty people to the very brink of ruin. When by the crimes of A————n not only the well-being of a great country is at ſtake, but that it is even a doubtful queſtion, whether any liberty may afterwards ſubſiſt, or a public concern find exiſtence at any rate, by reaſon of the impending ruin, which may threaten to aboliſh the life of all public concern, *Liberty* itſelf.

Whenever this is manifeſtly the caſe of any State, it would be treaſon of the blackeſt hue, and moſt horrid nature; not directly indeed againſt any one particular branch of a mixed government, but involving all at once in common ruin, that muſt follow, and ſoon overtake each part; to be ſilent, inactive, and unconcerned, or to acquieſce patiently in the deteſtable cauſes of ſuch misfortunes: when things are brought to ſuch a paſs, they muſt ſoon periſh alike, who lie ſtill, and who unmanfully ſubmit through ſervile fear; and they can but periſh, but with infinitely more honour to themſelves, who are, above all others, moſt active to repel, whilſt they have life, hands, arms, and courage to uſe them, every unjuſt uſurpation of ill-gotten power, which may have overthrown the antient foundations of any well-regulated conſtitution.

But general declamation was not the deſign of addreſſing myſelf to you at this time. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf, in the ſequel of theſe ſheets, to delineate a general ſketch of our own public affairs at this particular juncture, and trace them from their apparent ſource, ſo far as may be a neceſſary clue in conducting the inquiry: at the ſame time I ſhall ſtrive to animate every well-diſpoſed reader to give all manner of aſſiſtance, by acting the part every individual has it conſtitutionally in his power to comply with; that this country, formerly famed for

Arms

Arms and Virtue, may retrieve the tarniſhed honor, and fading luſtre of the *Britiſh* name.

I pretend only to draw the out-lines of this picture at preſent; for it requires the hand of a perfect maſter to fill up with proper colorings the defects here obſervable by a judicious eye; moreover, a certain ſuſpence about particular important events, induces me at this time to ſpeak with modeſty about uncertainties, which (GOD grant may never have exiſted, or that they) may prove abortive in the womb of Time: and I would farther avoid the propagation of faction, and ill-grounded fears, as theſe only tend to corrupt and deſtroy the happineſs of a people, and never to encourage them to undertake any thing manly or great, in order to emancipate themſelves from whatever difficulties they may be plunged into.

In the firſt place then, it is requiſite to conſider, that the unavoidable neceſſity of a *French* war has ſubſiſted ever ſince that ſtrange patchwork, and inglorious peace made at *Aix la Chapelle*, where, to ſay nothing of *ſecret* Articles at preſent, our right and title to all *Nova Scotia*, and the ſettlements upon the river *Ohio*, were left, under vague and unſettled definitions of words, to the preciſe limitation and adjuſtment of Commiſſaries appointed on each ſide between us and the *French*; whoſe private intereſt it manifeſtly was, from the advantage of their temporary places, to prolong the time of concluding their reſpective commiſſions, and to raiſe new doubts upon every ſlight and frivolous pretext, in order to inhance their own gains, and to give our unceaſing and reſtleſs enemies thereby, juſt breathing-time ſufficient to ripen their long-concerted projects, to exterminate with fire and ſword all our pretenſions upon theſe tracts of countries, which in *France* our Commiſſaries were at that time negotiating about at their leiſure.

This

This deſign of the enemy was laid open and proclaimed to the Houſe of Commons, the beginning of the Seſſion in 1754, in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt manner, by one noble Lord*, whoſe honeſt counſel was then rejected: and I well remember his maſterly eloquence, and juſt predictions of what has ſince that time literally befallen this nation, were treated by the miniſterial Advocates then preſent, as the viſionary refinements of a ſplenetic Politician, which exiſted no where elſe but in his own fanciful imagination. And they had even the preſumption to give out, that what he ſuggeſted was never once deſigned by the *French*. Such was the treatment this diſcerning Patriot met with, for aſſerting in Parliament, what, within a ſhort month, it appeared to every member, the Miniſtry knew at that very time; and which, in the natural and conſtitutional courſe of buſineſs, required the moſt deliberate proviſion of the great Council of this Nation then aſſembled.—But inſtead of that cautious and conſtitutional way of proceeding, as it were, diſtracted with fears of ſome ſudden diſaſter, and new unheard-of deſign, the nation is alarm'd by a meſſage from the Crown, and the Commons are informed by Authority, that a large embarkation of troops, and warlike preparations, were carrying on in *France* for North *America*. The Commons returned the warmeſt and moſt loyal anſwer to this meſſage, and promiſe to fulfil all that his Majeſty, (*i.e.* his M——s) ſhall think expedient to diſburſe on this occaſion.

This practice, it is plain, was ſetting out in the very beginning of the war, with the pernicious methods formerly ſo deſtructive to this country, of doling away the public money to Favorites of the A————n. And it was reſolved, in conſequence of this intelligence, to ſend indeed a Fleet, though inferior in number of ſhips to the *French*, even after their

* Lord *E*——*t*.

their departure from *Europe*, to ſeek, or (to have it believed they meant) to meet with them, in the thick miſts and haizy fogs off *Newfoundland*, rather than break through the ridiculous Punctilio of attacking them in *Europe*; where, if orders were not poſitive to the contrary, the nation would much more have been aſſured of ſucceſs from the ſame Fleet under the gallant Admiral *Boſcawen* and his Officers, who, in ſpite of the diſadvantages they lay under of climate, by what they vigilantly did, ſhewed they meant to force the enemy to a favourable concluſion of all differences.

I ſhall poſſibly one day or other have occaſion to ſhew the Nation more particularly what is due to this brave and prudent man, not only as an Admiral aboard the Fleet, but as a Stateſman in council; particularly his adviſing the ſending away from the Bay of *Fundy* all the *French* neutrals who threatned, not publicly, but yet with great confidence, to deſtroy the much labored and expenſive ſettlement of *Nova Scotia*.

But to return to the Fleet off *Newfoundland*, by which every thing was done that the circumſtances of that ill-choſen ſcene of action could permit; the differences, however, between us and the *French* were not doomed to be ſo terminated. This nation was juſtly incenſed at the encroachments and cruelties of the enemy and their emiſſaries; ſo that whatever ſums of money ſhould be aſked, were ſure to be granted, whilſt the people were in this mood. The harveſt was now growing ripe for Money-lenders and Jobbers; and Place-men and Penſioners, like a flight of *Egyptian* locuſts, were found without number ready for devouring the ſpoil. In compliance with whoſe advice, and ſelfiſh perſwaſions, and to ſatisfy a ſet of men who were to be greatly intereſted in the plunder and rapine, which by war they expected to ſhare, and which, how notorious ſoever it might be,

they

they hoped their intereſt in a certain place would ſkreen at any rate: it was therefore reſolved, at ten times the expence of Provincials raiſed on the ſpot, and inured to the climate, to ſend hence a body of regular Soldiers, under *Braddock*, into North *America*; who failing of all ſucceſs, ſo far, that they were totally routed by a handful of inviſible Savages, who took advantage of the moſt pernicious ſupineneſs and fatal negligence of the General, though himſelf remarkable for ſeverity of diſcipline at home, yet in the field he ſhewed an abſolute ignorance of every qualification of a good Officer, and brought an indelible reproach upon our national regular troops. But great as was the mortification of *Braddock*'s particular friends at his want of conduct, another ſet of men were no leſs diſappointed, who expected him to advance the deep-projected reformation of our *American* colonies by a military government, ſubjecting them all under ſuch ſalutary laws as reforming Soldiers have, in all ſimilar circumſtances, impoſed.—This principal object, that the projectors had primarily in view, lay indeed concealed a while from public notice; but, like many other ſpecious appearances, when cloſely examined, betrayed the foul deſigns which the abetters of theſe ſchemes had principally ſet their hearts upon. But by what appeared to the leaders themſelves, ſoon after they landed in *America*, they diſcover'd things not yet quite complete for the execution of all the Miniſterial Purpoſes; and the cries of the *Americans* prevailed ſo far, that a few Militia-men were raiſed and marched into the field to pacify the *Americans*; by whoſe bravery, and the good conduct of their new-made General, the ill ſucceſs of our regulars under *Braddock* was in part repaired; for it is univerſally acknowledged, that Sir *William Johnſon*'s ſuperior induſtry, ſagacity, and genius for war, preſerved the greateſt part of North *America*, for a while at leaſt, by driving away

the *French* regulars, and taking their General priſoner, after *Braddock*'s defeat. But, baffled and diſgraced in the *Americans* eſteem as our regular forces were, and greatly ſucceſsful as the deſpiſed raw militia fought, yet the cant and language of every Courtier has been uniformly the ſame, before as well as ſince, that you are not to truſt the people of *America*, any more than thoſe at home, in their own defence; notwithſtanding a great part of the former are trained properly to arms, and impatient of every reſtraint impoſed on them by the introduction of mercenary Soldiers. Yet Soldiers are to be the deſtined inſtruments, and new forces are therefore ſent, with another General, who, in all probability, has been delayed here ſo long, that nothing material can be expected from that command this year. But it can be no ſecret, that if *Americans* only were to be employed in this ſervice, there would be no plea for the extenſion of the baneful influence of martial laws over theſe free men; and with proper ſupplies of money, which is the moſt neceſſary to them, the Contracters, Agent-Victuallers, Jobbers, Commiſſaries, Remitters, with all the other tribes of Harpies upon this devoted country at home, would be cut off from their new-contrived means of exorbitant plunder. And other reaſons ſubſiſted againſt the full extent of the grand ſcheme to humble this nation, by impoveriſhing it of wealth too ſoon; for war with *France*, whenever it was declared, was like to be of long continuance, and therefore it was expedient to raiſe the ſupplies of the current year as cheap as poſſible, that the nation might not grow ſick of the expence too ſoon. So that whenever Subſcriptions ſlacken'd at the Bank, the word went forth from on high, and all were compelled to come in, who had either any hopes or fears. And by this forced Subſcription of Two Millions, with the Land-Tax at Four Shillings *per* Pound, the exigencies of the

current

current year, amounting to near Seven Millions, were ſuppoſed to be provided for moſt liberally.

But this was not all the public was expected to ſupply, as upon the laſt meſſage by a certain great O——r to the C——s, it was thrown out in a moſt unconſtitutional manner, that it might be preſumed, if the ſum of a Million or more ſhould be farther wanting for the current ſervice, all deficiencies would be chearfully made up in due ſeaſon.

But for all the mighty expence we have been at by ſea and land; let us now attend a little to what has been already done anſwerable to the mighty parade of preparations ſo formidable in words; Why, in the firſt place it was faſhionable in every company, and at every coffee-houſe in town, to applaud the remarkable diligence uſed in your naval affairs; and by the prodigious numbers of his Majeſty's ſhips put into commiſſion, from that time the *Blandford* Man of War was taken till the 17th of *May* laſt, when war was declared, the public was ſo elated with confidence in our ſuppoſed ſuperiority, that no man dared to ſuggeſt the neceſſary cautions about our Enemy's Fleet any where elſe than in the channel; and in colluſion with the people's apprehenſion, an inſignificant number, when compared to the liſt in commiſſion of our ſhips of war, were ſent off *Breſt*, and to parade it away in the *Britiſh* channel; but, inſtead of attacking the *French* ſhips of war, they took all the ſtinking fiſh, and whatever other merchantmen came in their way; and farther, to ſatisfy the clamors and expectations of the populace, Admiral *Hawke* is ſtationed, with a Fleet ſufficient for once, off *Breſt*, in order to intercept the enemy's return into their own harbors from the cruize they had been on, ſucceſsfully to convoy their outward bound merchants ſhips.

But it was the ill fate, in a ſecond inſtance of this country, that in the moſt critical time, the watch-

ſhip ſo ſtationed, that by obeying orders, ſhe muſt neceſſarily have deſcryed, in a few hours, every motion of the enemy's fleet, and might have brought on a general engagement with the enemy and aſſured victory, with *Hawke* and his Fleet well manned on our ſide, if the Commander had not pretended, or believed he found a neceſſity, to quit his ſtation, from the bare ſilly report of his Carpenter alledging, that the maſt was diſabled.

Upon the Commander's arrival, the diſappointed Nation expected to ſee ſome puniſhment adequate (if poſſible) to ſo grievous a miſdemeanor, or degradation at leaſt, for his wretched ill-judged conduct. But inſtead of vengeance for the wrongs of an injured people, a Court-Martial honorably acquits him, though not altogether without blame, and brings in the Carpenter incapable, for the future, to ſerve his country in any ſtation whatſoever*. The Captain however, as a reward for paſt good ſervices, as well in the ſenate as by his ſword, is ſince that promoted to the dignity of the *Britiſh* Flag: but our wiſe Rulers at the helm ſteer equally well, *tam marte quam mercurio*.

Now after all our ſo much boaſted ſuperiority at ſea, and after the prodigious numbers of ſhips long ſince put into commiſſion, for which the nation will expend Four Millions and upwards this year; and after a diſſipation of the other immenſe treaſures provided by Parliament, amounting in all to Seven Millions and upwards; and after the enemy had been publicly, with our own certain knowledge, carrying on a large embarkation of troops, and all military preparations at *Toulon*, for three months and upwards; but not a week before the *French* had actually landed, by our *Gazette* accounts, Eleven Thouſand men at *Citadella*, was a ſquadron of *Engliſh* men

* When you turn your eyes (ſays *Demoſthenes* to his degenerate countrymen) to the wretched ſtate of your affairs, you bring your Generals to a trial; you grant them leave to ſpeak; you hear the neceſſities they plead, and then acquit them.
1ſt *Olynthiac*.

men of war dispatched for the relief of the garrison in *St Philip's Castle:* and *Byng*, an untried man, who never had once seen an action in all his life, forces himself into this employ, and takes the command of this squadron; which, even when it sailed from *England*, was known to be much inferior to the enemy's Fleet both in strength and number.

Thus did our wise *Polonius* at home risque, from the *beginning*, the relief of that important fortress, (for I would avoid to say of this country) to the precarious success of a weaker fleet, under a raw Commander, not even sufficiently provided with the ordinary requisites for a sea engagement.

For whatever the public now ascribes to Mr *E——e*, &c. who joined the ten ships *Byng* sailed with hence for *Mahon*, yet it is notoriously owing to Mr *Blakeney*'s inflexibility in his own right way, and reluctance to give up any undue part of the command, that Mr *E——* sailed away, disgusted, for *Gibraltar*; whilst the the creatures of A————n were here defending his continuance, pent up in *Mahon* harbour, as the only right and wise conduct on his part.

But in this place it may not be impertinent to advert a little to the unparalleled neglect of our naval forces in the *Mediterranean*, and especially at *Port Mahon*; long after hostilities had been commenced on both sides, that important place, it was but natural to suppose, ought to have had a squadron of men of war stationed before it, with ships able to protect the honor and trade of this kingdom at all times in the *Mediterranean*.

For before the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* we might have maintained as numerous a Fleet as would answer all our purposes at *Gibraltar* or *Port Mahon*, without offence to any neighboring state. But since that memorable æra *Great Britain* has acted as if she were debarred these natural rights, and as if only permitted, by courtesy, to keep an insignificant number of line of battle ships in these seas in time

of

of peace: for how elſe can we account for Mr *E*—'s being ſent there at all with ſo few ſhips under him, even before any preparations of war were making in *Europe*. But others beſides the treaty of *Aix* have to anſwer it to the nation, and I hope will one day be called upon for reaſons; why ſo very few *Britiſh* ſhips of the line were cruiſing off *Mahon* many months after the capture of the *Blandford* man of war? And why, when *Minorca* was threatned openly with an invaſion from the enemy full three months and upwards, to our own public knowledge, no additional reinforcement was ſent, till *Byng* ſailed with a Fleet much inferior to the enemy, and uncertain of being joined by Mr *Edgecumbe?* And all this while it is a well known fact, not controverted by thoſe who could have denied, if untrue, a noble Lord's aſſertion in Parliament, that we had Thirty-ſix thouſand ſeamen, of the Forty thouſand granted, returned to the proper Officers before the beginning of *February* laſt.

But it may be deemed invidious to run the parallel minutely at this time between the ſituation of our neighbors and us; and the conditions exacted from the *Carthaginians* by their rivals the *Romans*, when they prohibited them, for the future, from putting to ſea with any more than a very ſmall number of ſhips, but obliged them to burn and deſtroy the reſt which formerly had been a terror unto them. "Ye ſhould have wept (ſays *Hannibal* to a time-"ſerving *Carthaginian*) when ye gave up your ſhips "and elephants, and when ye bound your own hands "from the uſe of arms, without the good leave of "the *Romans* firſt obtained. This miſerable ſtate "keeps us under, and holds us in aſſured ſervitude." The ſtate of *Carthage* could not ſurvive many years that fatal conceſſion; and *Great Britain* will mourn too late *Minorca*, &c. loſt and ſurrender'd from that neglect, on our part, to fit out a ſuperior Fleet in

the

the *Mediterranean*; as every A——n formerly was wont to do, whenever the flames of war were kindled againſt us in *Europe*.

But, without any friendſhip or partiality to Mr *Byng*, it is reaſonable to allege what may be collected from the naval hiſtory of this country, that nothing of great moment was ever done deciſive in our favor by an engagement upon equal terms with an enemy's Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; though we could poſſibly diſable many of them in fight, yet the advantages they have over us in putting into any neighboring port and preſently refitting, are of great conſequence to them; whilſt we have a tedious and uncertain voyage to make after a ſea fight there, and cannot ſo eaſily provide or tranſport naval ſtores neceſſary for refitting in a ſhort time, as they can do; for which reaſon we ought never to truſt to ſo near an equality of numbers; but this would be a matter (no doubt) of ſerious conſideration to determine, every brave and wiſe commander not to hazard too much againſt a manifeſt ſuperiority, eſpecially if the enemy's Fleet conſiſted principally of ſtout, new and clean ſhips, and his own had been expoſed to a long voyage, which makes the ſhips foul and ſeamen ſickly, from long and cloſe confinement, and ſalt diet.

But this reflection neceſſarily leads one to animadvert upon the palpable and flagrant neglect of the A——n, which is ſo far culpable, as they were ignorant of the true number of the *Toulon* Squadron, as they now pretend: for if they knew better, which is moſt likely to appear afterwards they did at that time, the charge will come ſtronger againſt other people than Mr *Byng*: why the public was made to believe the *French* Fleet at *Toulon* conſiſted of no more than Eight ſhips of the line, when Twelve new ſhips actually ſailed with *Galiſſoniere*; and this was ſo well known to Mr *Byng*, before he ſailed hence, that

though

though he had earneſtly ſolicited that command in the beginning, upon the preſumption and aſſurances of his Fleet being ſuperior to the enemy; yet, two days or more before his departure, he lamented to his friends his own inevitable ruin or diſgrace, if not the loſs of the Fleet under him; for being ſent with an inſufficient force to conquer the enemy, whoſe ſuperiority, when fully known (it is ſaid) render'd a cloſer attack upon them unſafe and precarious. What then muſt the nation think of an A——— n inattentive or regardleſs of the above, as well as the following facts? By a liſt of *French* ſhips under *Galiſſoniere*, a great majority of them appear, from the *French* regiſter of their marine, in ſeveral private hands in *London*, to have been actually new built ſince the year 1747, and upon a new model, and in a manner of conſtructing the ſame rated ſhips different from the uſage of former times; in which laſt model, all the Cannon of the various orders of ſhips are caſt of a larger calibre, inſomuch that a new-built ſixty four gun ſhip, upon the *French* model, carries weight of metal as great, and is capable of attacking any force, that their former ſeventy four gun ſhips uſed to do. And by the ſame alteration of their manner of building their ſhips, and caſting their metal to a greater bore, their ſeventy four gun ſhips carry at preſent the ſame weight of metal as the ninety gun ſhips did heretofore. And every ſeaman knows, that a large ſhip of war is proportionably ſtronger, and capable of much more execution, in a line of battle, than a number of ſmall ſhips all together, though the number of guns of the ſmaller veſſels ſhould exceed thoſe in the large one. That I may not be miſunderſtood, I mean to ſhew, that a veſſel of eighty four guns, with her complement of men, and every other thing elſe as well provided within herſelf, is more than a match for a fifty gun ſhip and a forty gun ſhip attacking her together, as well

well manned and provided according to their own reſpective rates, and ſo proportionally of other ſtrong-built veſſels. Wherefore it is ſelf-evident, that the ſucceſs of any naval engagement between two fleets ought not to be expected merely from the ſuperior number of guns in one of them, but ought to happen (if all other things in both fleets are nearly on a par) in favor of that, whoſe weight of metal is upon the whole the greateſt.

By an examination of this kind, it will turn out, that though the ſum total of guns in our fleet exceeded the *French* by upwards of fifty, yet the enemy was, from the forementioned circumſtances, much ſtronger than *Byng* when they met, and much more ſo than when he left *England*. And the aſſurance of this fact, was enough to make him too late lament his own hard fate, and even in a braver man than *Byng*, might have been apt to beget a timorous and daſtardly ſpirit, and to propagate the ſame among others, who in a ſhort time participated of his counſels, of the ſame irreſolution and faint-heartedneſs; for ſuch a ſpirit appears to have poſſeſſed them all in ſome degree, by the extracts of *Byng*'s letter publiſhed in the *Gazette*: though it is poſſible it may hereafter appear, he wrote very much more than was ever yet publiſhed, vindicating the motives of his own conduct. But may it not be aſked, whether the contents are not ſecreted from the public notice, the better to ſkreen the errors and miſconduct of other people? who, finding the nation with great reaſon enraged at ſuch mal-a————n, may poſſibly judge it expedient to offer ſome expiatory ſacrifice for their own ſins to a brave people, juſtly incenſed and provoked.

It is from theſe omiſſions in the out ſet, not to dwell upon the want of Fire-ſhips and Naval Stores in *Byng*'s fleet, that the judgment of all our General Officers ſeems to have been confounded and pervert-

ed at *Gibraltar*; and to this cauſe principally it is, we ought to refer all our paſt misfortunes; as a ſtone caſt into a pond occaſions many waves, and thereby the calm element becomes ſo ruffled at a diſtance, that all objects appear in it awhile diſordered and confuſed: ſo this infatuation of our counſels at home, plunged the General Officers of the Army, as well as ſome of the Navy, from one miſtake into another, the farther they were withdrawn from the firſt cauſe, till all of them appear to have been bewilder'd and abſorpt in that panick, which is too well known to have been almoſt univerſal in the councils at *Gibraltar*, and afterwards. What may be the conſequence of this ſhameful mock-fight in the *Mediterranean* is yet uncertain; whether it is *G*———*r* or *P*———*h* which is the next devoted object: but bravery, ſkill, and every other requiſite of good commanders, were found almoſt unparallel'd in our days in *Blakeney* and *Jeffery*s, yet *Portmahon*, alas! no longer belongs to the dominion of *Great Britain*. Want of a ſufficient Garriſon, and ſcarcity of many other requiſites there, made the meaſure juſtifiable to give up the caſtle, that after three deſperate aſſaults, and as many repulſes on our mens ſides, is now in the hands of the enemy; who, 'tis probable, will know how to ſet a due value on it; tho' it is plain we acted at home as if we all along did not; or thought we might ſubſtitute ſome equivalent for it, when they think proper to make a peace. And now let diſpaſſionate people of all denominations aſk themſelves candidly, Would a whig A———n in Queen *Anne*'s days have given up *Port Mahon*? Or durſt even the tories, culpable as they are even to this day allowed to have been, venture on ſo bold a ſtep? And ſhocking as the conſideration is, will it not occur to aſk, if all our preſent A——n had agreed with the enemy to embrace ſuch meaſures as would moſt effectually ruin and

diſtreſs

diſtreſs our affairs, could they with their own ſafety have done more than has already happened ?

But if we may be allowed to anticipate the fate of *Byng*, even upon the evidence of his own letter, (if a part may be admitted inſtead of the whole) though he be univerſally blamed by every one, yet from what has often happened heretofore, not quite indeed in ſimilar caſes, for no parallel of ſuch can any where be found ; yet, as Court-Martials have uſually been managed, it is not improbable, that one will be ſelected, which will find evidence clear enough in his favor to acquit this honorable Commander of every juſt imputation of blame. But though the ſupreme Court of the nation ſhould take up the inquiry in an apparent high manner, have we any grounds to expect, from the known v——y and p———n of the preſent age ; and from the very inſignificant numbers of the honeſt party, compared to the many who are corrupted among the great; and eſpecially from what paſſed laſt war before the Houſe; when two Commanders, by ſhameful neglect of duty, involved us in a *French* war, and yet each died with impunity : is there, I ſay, any good ground to ſuppoſe, without the thunder of the people's voice againſt this ſtrange behaviour in him; that a man of Mr *Byng*'s, and the reſt of that memorable unanimous Council's connections and p———y intereſts, will ſuffer any farther diſgrace or puniſhment, than the hearty harmleſs imprecations of a forlorn people ?

But if the general ſenſe of an injured nation were fairly and humbly repreſented by the City of *London*, and a majority of the Boroughs in *Great Britain*, before Parliament, and if they ſhould petition for a fair impartial inquiry into the ſtate of this nation, in order to obtain redreſs of grievances, and puniſhment of the authors, however exalted in Station and Dignity, and whoever they may happen to be.

There is not any room to doubt, but the attention of all would be awakened properly from that Court-Lethargy, by which moſt individuals are render'd deaf and inſenſible to the ſilent heart-murmurings, which more than three fourths of this nation ſtill pour forth againſt all, who wickedly deſign the ruin of their liberties. For the Commons of theſe once-happy realms, in their collective capacity, have ever maintained, and GOD forbid they ſhould not, as often as they ſee occaſion, exerciſe a power to repreſent their grievances to Parliament, and petition from every County as well as Borough in *Britain*, to have them redreſſed. The exerciſe of this indubitable right, has at all times preſerved, and ſometimes ſaved them from Slavery. This right of theirs no man can deny, who is a well-wiſher or friend to our conſtitution, and the principles by which the preſent illuſtrious Family wears the crown. It is true, in the flattering reign of *Charles* the Second, this right of petitioning was declared againſt in the Houſe, and by every *Creature* and *Hackney Scribler* about Court, was ſet forth as dangerous, mutinous, innovating, nay, rebellious; and accordingly, proclamations were iſſued out to diſcountenance it; Abhorrences were ſet on foot to deter the Petitioners, and the whole array of penal Laws was diſplay'd againſt this equitable exerciſe of Liberty; but the Houſe of Commons at their firſt meeting, paſſed a vote, *nem. con.* "That it is ever, and hath been the undoubted right "of the ſubjects of *England*, to petition the King "for calling and ſitting of Parliaments, and for the "*redreſs of Grievances.*" — "That to traduce ſuch "petitioning as a violation of Duty, and to repreſent "it to his Majeſty as tumultuous and ſeditious, is to "betray the liberty of the ſubject, and to contribute "to the deſign of ſubverting the antient legal con-"ſtitutions of this kingdom, and introducing arbi-"trary power."

It

It appears, by theſe reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, that this right of the people, the arbitrary tyranny of the *Steuarts* could not ſuppreſs; and whatever was even dubious on the ſide of Liberty before the Revolution, the *Bill of Rights* at that time explained and confirmed. And the better to eſtabliſh for ever after, and to preſerve inviolably this conteſted right belonging to the people, Sir *Francis North*, a great man of the law in thoſe times, and, like others of his profeſſion, an enemy to liberty, for his attempts to ſtretch Prerogative in the Crown, was impeached, as well as Sir *Francis Withens*, a Member of Parliament, who was ſentenced upon his knees, and expelled the Houſe, for oppoſing the ſubjects undoubted right to petition for *redreſs of Grievances*. For the principles which contain ſo much natural equity, are not to be deſtroyed by power, nay, not by conceſſion itſelf.

But to return to the farther conſideration of the preſent ſtate of this country: It is well known, that every thing, during his *******'s laſt abſence in his —— dominions, continued as unſettled in the determinations of the *****, as they had been before his departure; for each particular Member, *but one*, was obliged to cede in part his own opinions to a determination of a majority of the C——l; nothing but Faction took place, and each of the Junto conſider'd more how to preſerve his own footing ſecure, and to enlarge his own power with artifices, than to annoy effectually the public enemy. But at length the happy return of his ******* to his *Britiſh* dominions, procured a ſhort truce to their domeſtic feuds, and inteſtine diviſions, and at an expence of about *an Hundred and twenty thouſand* Pounds ſterling to be paid by the nation, to ſatisfy in part one man's ambition, the cards were newly ſhuffled, tho' nothing of conſequence was got by the new taking in. For the A———n acquired no new ſtrength by tranſpoſing

ing their great Officers; for 'twas after they had tender'd in vain their propoſals to one Nobleman, and another great Man, who, from mere honeſty in adhering uniformly to their own ſentiments, rejected every plan of union which was offered, if they would heartily cooperate with meaſures newly projected. By which means, another, high before in office, but turbulent in every place, whilſt ever another ſtood higher than himſelf, thruſts into that exalted ſtation with a bare half-faced good-will to thoſe who upon compulſion admitted him ſo far, and in his firſt ſtep betrays the complection of his arbitrary deſigns to take the conduct of the Houſe of C—— s. This unwary ſtep his well-wiſhers endeavoured to palliate, but could by no means excuſe, while the torrent of Oratory was poured out by all againſt ſuch unconſtitutional preſumption.

But what the minority in the oppoſition clamored moſt againſt in the beginning of laſt Seſſions, has, luckily for the A———n, turned out to the general ſatisfaction of this nation. But ſo far for their honeſty muſt be ſaid, that what they declaimed againſt was no new temporary doctrine, but only reviving the much-contended opinion of a noble Lord, who formerly had been the idol of this nation, for his oppoſition to a late wicked Miniſter. But the M——y had now the advantage over this miſtaken honeſt zeal, ſo far, that when the *Ruſſian* treaty was confirmed in Parliament, the King of *Pruſſia* of his own meer accord, offered ſuch terms of accommodation to the Court of *London*, that availing themſelves of the conviction, which the declaration of the particulars with *Ruſſia* had carried along with it, the M—y preſumed the nation would rejoice in all ſubſidies, becauſe they were reconciled to one, whereto they had been at firſt averſe. The treaty indeed with *Ruſſia*, a great and powerful nation, was well concerted; and the only object worthy the attention of

this

this nation even in her greateſt proſperity, which the M——y ſome how or another have ſtumbled upon ſince the preparations for war were begun. But was this a ſufficient reaſon for *Great Britain* to ſubſidize with *Heſſe-Caſſel*, *Wolfenbuttle*, and ſeveral more petty *German* Princes? And even the *Pruſſian* Alliance, dazzling as it ſeemed in appearance, was certainly precipitate and ill-timed, being a meaſure which was not likely to obtain Peace, but rather to bring on a general War; a meaſure of neceſſity eſtranging the Houſe of *Auſtria* from her attachment to *Great Britain*; and a meaſure ſcattering the ſeeds of jealouſy and animoſity againſt us in all the northern powers, who can have any poſſible diſputes hereafter with that buſtling and intriguing monarch. In a word, the *Pruſſian* Alliance ſeems to have been ratified only with a view at any expence to keep him a friend to a certain Country in *Germany*, and to protect it from a *French* invaſion; and, it may be preſumed, was executed in compliance with that part of the A****n, who are ſatisfied with no higher merit at any time, than to be mere expedient-mongers; who have neither ability nor genius for deciſive undertakings of war, and are therefore unſtable in councils, and infirm in every purpoſe, which claſhes or interferes with the approbation or ſenſe of their timid and irreſolute Junto.

The truth of this reaſoning farther appears from the defenſive alliance ſince then concluded between the courts of *Vienna* and *Verſailles*, which aſſuredly could not have taken place, but for this premature ſtep on our part; conſidering the expence of near *Thirty Millions* this nation had been at laſt war, the remembrance of which could not have been effaced ſo ſoon from the Empreſs Queen's breaſt, had ſhe not been compelled to provide reſources in her own defence, by a juncture with *France*, in caſe her own dominions might be attacked by *Pruſſia*. By this

inſtance

inſtance we ſee how well founded is the maxim of balancing the contending powers in time of war; for, ſays *Polybius*, "that ought never, on any account, "to be overlooked; nor ought ſuch a force ever to "be thrown into one hand, as to incapacitate the "neighbouring ſtates from defending their rights "againſt the more powerful."

Should what has been ſaid be found true, may one not fairly conclude, that the preſent A——n is made up of giddy, weak, puſillanimous, irregular and inconſiſtent men; who have each, like the Ape in the fable, juſt wit enough to do miſchief, but all their collected abilities, even if unanimity could overrule their now divided counſels, would ſcarce furniſh capacity to ſave a depreſſed nation?

Ever ſince warlike preparations were made on both ſides, let it be aſked, What Fleet was ever ſent out, off that coaſt, for the preſervation of poor *Ireland*? What ſecurity of property have our merchants in our weſtern colonies from a ſufficient Fleet of ours there? Have not the Proprietors of the *Leeward Iſlands* been, in prudence, obliged to inſure their effects at great premiums in thoſe places, for want of men of war ſufficient in the *Weſt Indies* to protect the Iſlands from the danger of a *French* invaſion? And what adequate defence to the threatned danger have we made for *North America*? How long may we reaſonably hope to have any ſettlements on the *Malabar* coaſts? In a word, What ſucceſs have we had in the execution of any one plan talked of? I will venture to ſay, notwithſtanding the great expence of commiſſioning ſo many ſhips, and the large returns made in *February* laſt of your ſeamen, no Fleet, but one, has at any time been ſent out equal in numbers to the enemy: we have before mentioned two inſtances of this neglect; now let us enquire how Mr *Boſcawen*'s numbers have ſtood when compared to the *French*. Towards the end of *May*

laſt

laſt Fifteen *French* ſhips of the line fell down into *Breſt* water, whilſt the *Engliſh* Fleet was no more than Eleven men of war of the line, in hourly expectation of meeting the enemy's Squadron with ſo great an inequality againſt them: 'tis neceſſary to admit that the famous Mr *Moſtyn* was diſpatched ſo as to join them ſoon after, with four ſhips, which barely when they arrived made up an equality to the enemy's number.

Thus the well-being of this country was committed at beſt to the doubtful event of a Squadron, inferior to the enemy in the proportion of three to four nearly. What infatuation was there then in ſuch counſels? whilſt the nation hath been perpetually alarmed, and with reaſon, for ſix months paſt, been taught ſo far to believe in the rumors ſpread all over the kingdom, of invaſions, and embarkations made againſt us by the *French*, that we have admitted ſwarms of Mercenaries and foreign Soldiers into the very heart of this country; and that, inſtead of intruſting the brave and warlike natives of this iſland with arms to defend themſelves, their Wives, their Children, their Properties, and every thing elſe, that can be dear to freeborn men. And burdenſome and diſgraceful as it is for this powerful nation to be defended by ſuch mercenaries, yet if the enemy ſhould think fit to attack us, with all our boaſted aid of *H*—— and *H*——*s*, now environing our Capital, it is certain we muſt ſtill have recourſe to the good people of this land for our defence and preſervation; unleſs the A——n means to take into their pay half the ſoldiers of *Germany*, inſtead of the ſhips of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, now hired by *France* againſt us; and when the enemy may be in full march for *London*, theſe Soldiers are liable to be recalled upon the ſlighteſt pretext, or ſeduced (as men) by a larger ſubſidy, than our agreement is to pay, for their uncertain

and precarious aſſiſtance of fighting for us in the day of trial. But in Parliament we were told, from the higheſt Authority, Militias are of good inſtitution at particular times, and may at ſome time be right, yet, that this is not a proper ſeaſon! And that too many hands for a trading nation, neceſſary to conſtitute a ſufficient Militia, muſt neglect their manufactures and occupations; and that the uſe of arms would create a turbulent and rebellious ſpirit!

Thus do the quibbles and arts of Lawyers impoſe ſuch like fallacies and ſlight ſophiſtry upon the public, who are unable to reaſon about ſuch matters, and are inattentive to what actually takes place elſewhere. But let any Lawyer of them all ſay, if he can, that the people of the *Canton* of *Bern*, with the beſt conſtituted Militia in the world, are more tumultuous and turbulent upon *Sundays*, or at any other times, than the laboring people of *England* and *Ireland*: or whether the lower claſs of people in the *Britiſh* dominions are not more profligate, irreligious and debauched in their manners, than the temperate and induſtrious *Switzers*, or the *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* men, who are every *Sunday* under arms, that they may be taught to protect, in ſafety, and defend what GOD and nature have beſtowed.

But the gloſſes and comments of Lawyers have in all ages, and in all countries, proved detrimental to the intereſts of liberty: and to be perfect in the arts of a ſtateſman, ſays *Harrington*, it is firſt neceſſary to be bred a Gentleman, and no Lawyer.

Other people, biaſſed by the deluſion of Authority, are really ſhallow enough to think it impracticable for a commercial ſtate to exerciſe its civil functions with good military diſcipline; ſo indeed it would be, if there are only a few, as Thirty thouſand, permitted to bear arms; but it is impoſſible to conſtitute any free government for preſervation, within

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the reach of ambitious neighbors, without entruſting the whole people themſelves, and not any part ſeparated and diſtinct from the reſt, with the arts of war. I deſire to know what ſecurity of our property ſhall be found from our own ſoldiers, if the people are longer debarred the uſe of arms? Experience ſhews us that the more wealth is accumulated by unarmed cowards, it becomes the ſtronger incitement, and more powerful lure, to the firſt bold aggreſſor, who, without any compoſition, can take away by force either any part or the whole if he pleaſes: for what were Ten thouſand, or as many Millions, of naked and undiſciplined men, to a few troops of mercenary ſoldiers fighting for plunder? and how poor a figure do we make in hiſtory, to ſuffer a handful of Highlanders, laſt rebellion, to penetrate into the heart of this country, even offended and averſe to them as the people in general were, and yet, for want of arms in the hands of your own people, they all fled to be cut off by the ſtanding army? But where were your Trade, your Wealth, or ſecurity of Government, if a body of armed mercenaries ſhould urge this, or any thing like it? Gentlemen! Parliaments are exceeding good, but theſe times are not fit for them, you are to have a little patience; Where were then your Liberty? The conſtitution of this country, whenever this may be the caſe, is ſurely nigh expiring; for arms, ſufficient for the protection of us, in the hands of hireling ſlaves, is the model upon which the ſuperſtructures of the *French*, *German*, *Turkiſh*, and all other deſpotic governments are built.

And as there is no danger ſo great to contend againſt, as the exorbitant power of a ſtanding army too numerous, let every *Briton* therefore diſpaſſionately conſider the neceſſity there is, to oppoſe all farther extenſion of mercenaries and foreigners at home; and,

inſtead of ſuch dangerous expedients for our preſervation, it behoves every man in this nation to encourage every laudable propoſal for a Militia, as the only inſtrument, under GOD, that can ſupport the preſent Royal Family on the throne; and preſerve the envied happineſs of our glorious conſtitution, which is only a limited monarchy, equally abhorrent of the ſeditions and anarchy of mere democracies, as it is repugnant to an abſolute command in the crown, like what the *French* and other deſpotic ſovereigns have. Let every man now aſk himſelf, If ever a time can exiſt more preſſing for the eſtabliſhment of a general Militia-Law than now, when the enemy is expected, every hour, to invade ſome part of this kingdom? Surely this freeborn nation is not ſecure, whilſt ſhe is obliged to live upon the dole or bounty of the K—'s M——y for defence and aid from foreign mercenaries; but it was the wiſdom of our Gothick conſtitution to inveſt the Commons of this realm, whenever neceſſity in antient times required it, with the means and inſtruments of defence to protect themſelves; and to repel every attempt, foreign or domeſtic, to alter the religion and fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Let us therefore no longer be deluded into dangerous ſecurity upon your Ten thouſand or Twenty thouſand foreigners, or upon thoſe ſtanding armies, which appear ſo magnificent on paper; but let the defence of *Britain* be committed to the natural forces of the ſtate as ſoon as they can properly be arrayed; for whatever we expected to be done for us by others hath proved againſt us; and ought to convince the world, by paſt experience, that all the reſource left is in ourſelves to withſtand and control the inſolent ambition of our haughty and preſumptuous enemy. Remember, my Countrymen! Oh let us now remember, ere 'tis too late, the fate of *Athens* and of

Rome:

Rome: they continued free ſo long as the ſword remained in the hands of their own people, and were then the moſt glorious of all nations; for whilſt this root of Liberty remained, theſe ſtates could not fail to recover from any diſorders; but when numerous armies of foreigners were of appointment, they quickly loſt all liberty, and degenerated at once from their former condition, into the moſt abject ſervility, and baſeſt adulation of Tyrants, that ever diſgraced the hiſtory of mankind.

But ſeeing the firſt Law of Nature, as well as of Society, is ſelf-defence againſt every hoſtility attempted upon the individual, as well as againſt the body politic, what ſoleciſm of Law, or gloſſes of Statesmen, can delude the Nation from their honorable endeavors to obtain a good Militia-Bill, as ſoon as ever the Parliament next meets? And how can your baffled Patriots, who glorioufly ſtrove tho' in vain laſt Seſſions to obtain this ſalutary law, anſwer it to themſelves, to you, and to your Children, if they ceaſe to ſtruggle till the A——n is forced to grant it? Sure I am, without a well-regulated Militia-Bill, this nation muſt ſoon be undone, beyond all poſſibility of redemption.

I have endeavored to urge the conſideration of the vaſt importance of a well-regulated Militia-Bill at this time of imminent danger; as all may obſerve, who are acquainted with antient or modern hiſtory, that no people ever gained any remarkable advantage in times of general proſperity; but adverſity, like the colliſion of hard bodies, forces out every ſpark of fire, which lay concealed within the ſluggiſh maſs. It is on ſuch occaſions only, that the natural and indelible rights of a people, which have been ſurreptitiouſly purloined thro' the abuſe of power, can be re-claimed ſucceſsfully; and at ſuch times, the collective body of a people may,

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by judicious conduct, reaſſume a legal enforcement of thoſe privileges, which the ambition of arbitrary Statesmen, or the malevolence of Grandees towards the reſt of mankind, is prone to withhold as long as they poſſibly can.

Upon the whole, it is not my purpoſe to preſume to point out at preſent any particular method of application to ſo reſpectable a body of men as compoſe the City of *London*, or the Commons of *England*; bút as a ſincere lover of my Country, I recommend it to the conſideration of every man who has a vote for Member of Parliament, whether it might not be productive of the greateſt general good, to join, each in his reſpective Borough, and even in their private capacities, as true *Engliſhmen*, to cauſe proper application immediately to be made to Parliament, or where it may be moſt adviſable, and humbly to remonſtrate the apparent cauſes of our preſent melancholy ſituation, and to pray moſt earneſtly, that the Authors and Abettors of all wrongs done to this poor country may be brought to condign puniſhment; and not be permitted to ſkreen the mal-practices committed both in ****** and ******* by ſubſtituting men of ſtraw for the people to reak their juſt vengeance upon. And as the only ſecurity for the laſting freedom of this nation, loaded with its preſent diſhonor, let thoſe in the A———n be preſſed to ſhew all due countenance to ſome well concerted ſalutary Militia-Law, by which this brave and free-born people may be emancipated from the terrors of a numerous ſtanding Army, conſiſting of mercenary foreigners, as well as domeſtic ſl—s for life.

All or moſt of the honeſter people in high life, obſerving the depravity of manners, and that corruption which has infected like a contagion all orders of men, unanimouſly agree on mature deliberation, that ſuch a time may come, when no ſalvation can ariſe

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from any other reſources than from the body of the whole People themſelves; if upon a moſt diſpaſſionate inquiry, the ſhip ſhould now be found to have entruſted her ſafety to unſkilful pilots, ſhould ſhe in prudence be any longer expoſed to the contending elements with ſuch weak and unſkilful managers? Let every man, who is not abject enough to diſcard all concern for his Country, aſk, without prejudice or favor to any, whether we have an A———n that has ſhewed Prudence, Forecaſt, and Integrity, ſufficient to protect the dominions of this Country? — and if they have not, what is beſt legally to be done? For GOD's ſake, let us conſcientiouſly inquire within ourſelves, before it is too late, whether our dear Country ever ſo much ſtood in need of mature counſels, and firm reſolutions, as at the preſent juncture?

But the dignity and wiſdom of the city of *London* exceeds all the reſt of this nation, as much as her trade, opulence and grandeur are ſuperior: the credit therefore and weight of a ſuitable Addreſs from them will avail more, and tend more immediately to promote among all the Boroughs a proper and general application to obtain a happy iſſue to their requeſts, from whatever power in the legiſlature it is to be made, or in whatever manner it is to be carried on. Nothing but a moſt fervent and unſhaken love for my country, and zeal for the happy preſervation of the crown in the preſent Royal Family, induces me to have been at the trouble of writing ſo much upon this occaſion. For I am fully perſwaded, if this much-wanted ſpirit of inquiry were promoted by thoſe numbers, and by the ſubſcription of proper names to a Petition, for redreſs of grievances, it might be conducted to the reformation of this country, without undue heat of paſſion, but ſtill with zeal and intrepid reſolution. The ſubject of this Petition would contain matter

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of ſuch high dignity, as the very freedom and preſervation of Liberty in this nation: and if the whole collective body of the Commons, after the example of this illuſtrious City, ſhould become plaintiffs for the manifold wrongs which have been committed againſt the honor and happineſs of *England*, by ſervants of the C****, ſome expiatory ſacrifice of a great M——l offender ſhould be made conſtitutionally, who, in fact, ought to bear the blame of our late loſſes and diſgrace; for it is altogether frivolous and childiſh, and only worthy the meer vulgar, to transfer it upon inferior and ſubordinate agents only; but to ſtrike at the root of the evil at once, in a legal manner, might attone to this generous people, whoſe genius is to love the mildeſt exerciſe of power and puniſhments; and if any other perſon, by over-rating himſelf where none could contradict, has engroſſed too much power, for the diſcharge of which he is diſqualified by want of abilities and genius, it might be ſufficient to remove, at once, ſuch weak counſellers from before the throne, and to ſet up Wiſdom in high places; for that ſtate cannot long ſubſiſt that compenſates a M—'s evil actions with favors and rewards; or ſo much as grants impunity to the moſt dangerous crimes in remembrance of any paſt ſervices whatever.

I muſt once more beg leave to remind you, that, according as your ſpirit is exerted upon this critical juncture, you will either break the iron chains of impending bondage, or ſeal the doom of ſlavery, if not for yourſelves, yet aſſuredly for your Poſterity. Remember therefore, you have it now in your power, and are anſwerable if you do not give them the beſt ſecurity for happineſs, by a vigorous exertion of ſpirit in maintenance of rights to petition for redreſs of grievances, and for privileges derived from your anceſtors; which if the times abuſe, and the late violation

lation of your country's honor cannot now move you to reſent, as well as the wretched proſpect of poſterity which theſe times afford of fading Glory, diminiſhed Power, and of decaying national Happineſs; if theſe, I ſay, prove weak motives to determine my Countrymen at this time, to act that part which is the only thing left for them legally to undertake, words, however eloquent, will not hereafter have power to engage you, nor will any ſenſe of national Virtue ever excite you to ſhake off your bonds. — "For that people, ſays *Sydney*, muſt certainly pe-
"riſh, who tamely ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſ-
"ed, either by the Injuſtice, Cruelty, or Malice of
"an ill Magiſtrate."

But let me intreat, that if I have written with unuſual boldneſs, before I am condemned by any, let them only diſpaſſionately conſider how much truth there is in what has been ſaid, and that 'tis from a ſincere intention only to reſcue from perdition, as much as I can, my native country.

If after all that has been ſaid the body of the people of *Britain* is already ſo corrupted in manners, and that all ſenſe of public Virtue, and love and deſire, for the preſervation of Liberty is already extinguiſhed, then will they not only abandon every laudable and praiſe-worthy undertaking, of this or any other kind; but, far from deſigning any manly attempt to reſcue themſelves from what hangs over them at this inſtant like a thunder-cloud, big with unknown miſchiefs, they will ſuffer the propagators of the foregoing doctrine to be expoſed to all the dangers which deſpiſed Honeſty meets from Vice triumphant; and ſome of theſe, we have learned from the hiſtory of an abandon'd people in former days, are nothing ſhort of abuſe, hatred, perſecution, or death itſelf. "Now, ſaid a Patriot of old, I call heaven to wit-

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" neſs, it would not ſurpriſe me, though I ſhould " ſuffer, even by this People, more by diſplaying " their wretched condition, than the very men who " have involved them in it." But whatever fate attends me as an individual, my only ſatisfaction is to have founded the alarm, leſt a violent convulſion fit ſhould ſeize, and ſuddenly deſtroy, after the example of paſt ages, a miſguided and ruined People, with their devoted Country.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Fellow-Subject and Servant.

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